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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE
RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA
GONZÁLEZ HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA
PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and
HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF TARA
WATSON AND STAN VEUGER IN
SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'
MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY
ACTION**

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EXPERT DECLARATION ON IMPACTS OF ENDING TPS FOR VENEZUELAN

1. We are Tara Watson of the Brookings Institution in Economic Studies and Stan Veuger of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). If called to testify, we could and would do so as follows:

2. We have been asked to provide an expert opinion on the impacts of ending Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Venezuelans. We make this declaration based on our personal and professional knowledge, our skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly relied upon in our field that are currently available to us. If additional information becomes available, or if we believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, we will advise Plaintiffs' counsel that we intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are our own. True and correct copies of our CVs are attached as Appendices A & B.

3. Tara Watson is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Economic Studies and directs the Brookings Center for Economic Security and Opportunity. She is an economist who has written extensively about the economic impacts of immigration to the U.S. and of immigration enforcement. She co-authored "The Border Within: The Economics of Immigration in an Age of Fear," published by University of Chicago Press in 2021. Dr. Watson is also a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and a co-editor of the Journal of Human Resources, a leading academic journal in labor economics. She was a professor at Williams College for two decades. She received her Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University in 2003.

4. Stan Veuger is a senior fellow in economic policy studies at AEI, the editor of *AEI Economic Perspectives*, and an affiliate of AEI's Center on Opportunity and Social Mobility. He is also an affiliate of Harvard's Center for American Political Studies and a fellow at the IE School of Politics, Economics, and Global Affairs. He will be a visiting lecturer of economics at Harvard University in the fall of 2025 and was a Campbell Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution in May 2022. Dr. Veuger's research has been published in leading academic and professional journals, including the *Journal of Monetary Economics*, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, and *The Review of Economics and Statistics*. He is the editor, with Michael R. Strain, of *Economic Freedom and Human Flourishing: Perspectives from Political Philosophy* (AEI Press, 2016) and *Preserving Links*

1 *in the Pandemic: Policies to Maintain Worker-Firm Attachment in the OECD* (AEI Press, 2023). He
 2 received a Ph.D. and an A.M. in economics from Harvard. He also holds degrees from Erasmus
 3 University Rotterdam, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, University of London, and Utrecht University.

4 **I. Background on TPS**

5 5. The statement here reflects our perspective as independent scholars and does not
 6 necessarily reflect the views of our respective employers or any other institution.

7 6. As described by the American Immigration Council, Temporary Protected Status (TPS)
 8 is a temporary immigration status. It was created by Congress in 1990 and is available to nationals of
 9 specifically designated countries that are confronting an ongoing armed conflict, environmental
 10 disaster, or other extraordinary and temporary conditions. Individuals must be in the United States at
 11 the time the U.S. government designates the status for their country of origin, must meet certain
 12 eligibility conditions including an assessment of any criminal history, and must pay an application fee.
 13 The status provides freedom from risk of deportation and a work permit. TPS designations last 6, 12,
 14 or 18 months however may be extended an indefinite number of times. As of March 31, 2024, there
 15 were approximately 863,880 people with TPS living in the United States, with additional TPS
 16 designations since that date. There were 17 countries designated for TPS as of January 2025 (American
 17 Immigration Council 2025, [https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/temporary-](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/temporary-protected-status-overview)
 18 [protected-status-overview](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/temporary-protected-status-overview)).

19 7. When TPS is terminated, individuals revert to the immigration status they would have
 20 in the absence of TPS. Some individuals may have secured a different status while on TPS – for
 21 example, through a successful asylum case or by securing permanent residency through a family
 22 member – but many TPS recipients will become unauthorized upon termination. This means they will
 23 lose permission to work and lack protection from deportation. If TPS holders who entered the U.S.
 24 without inspection choose to leave the United States upon termination, they may be subject to a ten-
 25 year bar on re-entry even if they would otherwise be eligible for a pathway to legal permanent
 26 residence.

27 **II. Background on Venezuela**

28 8. Venezuela has seen one of the most pronounced political and economic upheavals in

1 recent history. The economic crises began under President Chávez and worsened under Nicolás
 2 Maduro, who has served as president since 2013, although the U.S. has not recognized him as such
 3 since 2019 and is currently offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading to his arrest
 4 and/or conviction (<https://www.state.gov/nicolas-maduro-moros/>). The country has faced economic
 5 collapse and hyperinflation of up to 800 percent; the International Monetary fund estimates 2025 per
 6 capita GDP to be less than half of its 2013 value in purchasing power terms
 7 (<https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/PPPPC@WEO/VEN>). There is also widespread agreement
 8 that Maduro has used anti-democratic means to maintain power. For example, the United Nations has
 9 decried the thousands of extrajudicial killings of those opposed to the regime by government-
 10 sanctioned death squads ([https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/04/world/americas/venezuela-police-](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/04/world/americas/venezuela-police-abuses.html)
 11 [abuses.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/04/world/americas/venezuela-police-abuses.html)).

12 9. Though the economic situation has stabilized to some degree, with hyperinflation
 13 abated, the political crisis continues. In 2024, international observers including the U.S. government
 14 recognized Edmundo González Urrutia as the true winner of the presidential election, but Maduro
 15 remains in power with González in exile. The U.S. and other countries have imposed a range of
 16 financial, sectoral, and other sanctions on Venezuela generally and on the Maduro regime and its
 17 supporters specifically, including for human rights violations. For example, the U.S. Treasury has
 18 imposed financial sanctions on Maduro and close associates because of election fraud and ongoing
 19 political repression (Congressional Research Service 2024, [https://crsreports.congress.gov](https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10715)
 20 [/product/pdf/IF/IF10715](https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10715)). The U.S. Department of Justice has also indicted current and former senior
 21 members of the Venezuelan regime, including Maduro himself, the Defense Minister Vladimir Padrino
 22 López, and the Interior Minister Diosdado Cabello Rondón.

23 10. The Venezuelan crises led to a mass exodus of 7.9 million people by 2024 (MPI 2025,
 24 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025#age>). In 2023,
 25 the Center for Strategic and International Studies described it as “the largest displacement crisis in the
 26 world,” because there were more displaced people than from Venezuela than from Ukraine or Syria
 27 (CSIS <https://www.csis.org/analysis/persistence-venezuelan-migrant-and-refugee-crisis>). While the
 28 vast majority (85 percent) of Venezuelan migrants and refugees have remained in Latin America and

1 the Caribbean, hundreds of thousands have come to the United States, often walking through the
2 dangerous Darién Gap to do so. Between 2021 and 2024, more than 750,000 Venezuelan migrants
3 were encountered at or near the Southern border (OHSS 2025, [https://ohss.dhs.gov](https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-monthly)
4 [/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-](https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-monthly)
5 [monthly](https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-monthly)). In response to large numbers of Venezuelan migrants arriving at the Southern border, the
6 Biden administration created a humanitarian parole process for Venezuelans in October 2022, which
7 eventually allowed about 117,000 Venezuelan migrants to be screened in advance to come to the U.S.
8 with a temporary humanitarian parole status. The arrival of parolees through this program slowed
9 dramatically towards the end of 2024, and the program ended on the first day of the Trump
10 administration.

11 11. Many of the Venezuelan parolees, as well as other recently arriving Venezuelans who
12 entered either by presenting themselves at the border or entering without inspection, are seeking
13 asylum. Asylum is a permanent legal status granted to those who have a well-founded fear of
14 persecution or harm in their country. As of 2024 it was estimated that 132,272 Venezuelans had filed
15 asylum cases which had not yet been adjudicated, consistent with the well-documented backlogs in
16 the immigration system (TRAC: <https://tracreports.org/immigration/tools/>).

17 12. The crisis in Venezuela led to it being designated for TPS on March 9, 2021. The
18 designation was extended in September 2022 given the ongoing political and economic upheaval. In
19 October 2023, Venezuela was re-designated, extending the original designation and allowing
20 Venezuelan nationals who had arrived after the 2021 designation and on or before July 31, 2023 to be
21 eligible for TPS protection. In January 2025, Secretary Mayorkas again extended the Venezuela
22 designations. There are an estimated 607,000 Venezuelan nationals with TPS as of January 2025 (MPI,
23 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025>).

24 13. In separate orders posted on February 3 and 5, 2025, USCIS stated its intention to
25 terminate the 2023 designation of Venezuela for TPS on April 7. The Department of Homeland
26 Security (DHS) estimates that approximately 350,000 Venezuelan nationals are eligible for TPS under
27 the 2023 Venezuela designation, of whom 33,600 were paroled before the Trump administration ended
28 the parole program for Venezuelans.

III. Four Categories of Harm Arising from Eliminating TPS for Venezuela

14. In our expert assessment, terminating TPS for Venezuelans has harmful consequences along four dimensions: (1) public safety; (2) immigration policy; (3) economics; and (4) foreign policy and national security.

15. *Public safety.* It is well documented that immigrants are much less likely to commit crimes than U.S.-born Americans (Santiago Pérez et al. 2024, <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aeri.20230459>). TPS recipients in particular have passed a criminal background check and have a clear incentive to stay out of legal trouble to maintain their status. The nexus to criminal gang membership mentioned in the notice is misplaced in that TPS is reserved for those without any felony or two misdemeanors, and unavailable to individuals believed to have committed “serious nonpolitical crimes” outside the United States even without a conviction. (8 U.S.C. § 1254a(c)(2)(B)(i); <https://www.ilrc.org/sites/default/files/2023-04/The%20Impact%20of%20Crimes%20on%20Eligibility%20for%20TPS.pdf>). There is no reason to expect that driving the law-abiding TPS population underground by stripping them of lawful status would improve crime rates. In fact, given evidence that fear of immigration enforcement reduces immigrant willingness to cooperate with police (Jacome 2022, https://elisajacome.github.io/Jacome/Jacome_PEP_JUE.pdf), it is likely that this action would worsen public safety.

16. Terminating TPS would have adverse consequences for public health. Due to the well-documented “chilling effects” of enforcement, immigrants and their families at risk of deportation are less likely to seek healthcare for fear of being apprehended at medical facilities (Young et al. 2024, <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC1007961>; Watson 2014 <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/pol.6.3.313>). Immigration enforcement has been linked to declining willingness to get vaccinated among undocumented immigrants (Sudhinaraset et al. 2022, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2211335522001152?via%3Dihub>), with consequences for the broader community. Fear of enforcement is linked to adverse mental health for immigrants and their families, including U.S.-born children (MPI 2020 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/how-fear-immigration-enforcement-affects-mental-health-latino-youth>).

1 17. Moreover, if the administration devotes substantial resources to apprehending the
2 affected individuals for deportation, adding new individuals to the pool of those eligible for potential
3 removal will likely divert resources from other enforcement priorities, such as unlawfully present
4 immigrants with serious criminal records. By definition, those with TPS status do not have such
5 backgrounds because of the screening requirements discussed above. Diverting resources from
6 apprehending migrants with serious criminal records to apprehending former TPS holders will not
7 enhance public safety.

8 18. *Immigration policy.* The Trump administration has a stated goal of reducing the
9 unauthorized population in the United States, a goal shared by many Americans across the political
10 spectrum. This action will do the opposite, by taking a group with a temporary legal status and
11 rendering them without status. The action will do little to impact the overall number of immigrants
12 living in the United States right away because Venezuelan TPS holders will be disinclined to return to
13 the country they fled. Moreover, TPS holders with asylum claims pending in immigration court will
14 not be deportable until after their asylum hearings, so recategorizing them as “unauthorized” will only
15 increase the total number of unauthorized migrants until their cases make their way through the heavily
16 backlogged asylum dockets.

17 19. Additionally, as noted above, adding new individuals to the pool of those eligible for
18 potential removal will likely divert from other enforcement priorities such as unlawfully present
19 immigrants with serious criminal records.

20 20. *Economics.* Economists largely agree that immigration is good for the U.S. economy
21 overall, promoting GDP growth and if anything raising wages for the average U.S-born worker
22 (<https://www.nationalacademies.org/our-work/economic-and-fiscal-impact-of-immigration>).
23 Immigrants complement the work done by many U.S. workers, helping to make them more productive,
24 and encourage companies to maintain production in the United States (Olney and Pazolli 2021
25 [https://direct.mit.edu/rest/article-abstract/103/1/177/97762/The-Impact-of-Immigration-on-Firm-](https://direct.mit.edu/rest/article-abstract/103/1/177/97762/The-Impact-of-Immigration-on-Firm-Level-Offshoring)
26 [Level-Offshoring](https://direct.mit.edu/rest/article-abstract/103/1/177/97762/The-Impact-of-Immigration-on-Firm-Level-Offshoring)). Immigrants are over-represented in innovation and entrepreneurship
27 (<https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2024/05/23/immigrant-entrepreneurs-bring-jobs-and->
28

1 innovation-new-research-shows/). The recent immigration surge, including that of recent Venezuelan
2 migrants, was beneficial for the post-COVID economic recovery (Edelberg and Watson 2024).

3 21. It is also worth noting that Venezuelan immigrants generally have labor market
4 advantages relative to the general immigrant population. About 48 percent of those over age 25 have
5 a college degree compared to 35-36 percent of the U.S.-born and of immigrants overall. About 75
6 percent of Venezuelan immigrant adults are in the labor force, which is substantially higher than
7 immigrants in general and the U.S.-born ([https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025)
8 immigrants-united-states-2025). These factors mean that the economic impact of Venezuelan
9 immigrants is likely to be particularly positive.

10 22. The proposed TPS termination and subsequent deportation would remove TPS holders
11 from the workforce, eliminating their productivity and tax contributions. The U.S. economy would
12 grow more slowly as a result.

13 23. *Foreign policy and national security.* The February 5, 2025 Federal Register notice
14 justifies TPS termination on the ground that “foreign policy is best served and protected by curtailing
15 policies that facilitate or encourage illegal and destabilizing migration.” In fact, however, it is the
16 proposed termination that would increase the illegal-immigrant population by changing the status of
17 several hundred thousand people living in the United States overnight, undermining the economic and
18 social stability that TPS provides.

19 24. In addition, deporting Venezuelan TPS holders will require cooperation with the
20 Maduro regime. Since the second Trump administration began, there has already been one deal made
21 to resume deportations to Venezuela. These actions run counter to administration policy as espoused
22 elsewhere, since the administration does not recognize the regime as legitimate. In fact, the U.S.
23 government raised the financial reward for information leading to Maduro’s arrest and/or conviction
24 from up to \$15 million to up to \$25 million just last month (January 2025). Cooperating with a dictator
25 to send asylum-seekers to a place known for human rights abuses may also weaken the standing of the
26 United States in the international community and adversely affect national security.

27 **IV. The Termination Notice’s Justifications Do Not Withstand Scrutiny**

28 25. Finally, we find that two of the key reasons cited in the February 5, 2025 termination

1 notice are unsupported.

2 26. *No “Magnet Effect.”* We do not see any reason that the extension of an existing TPS
3 designation would act as an immigration magnet. TPS status is not available to those arriving after
4 the 2023 designation. The current administration’s termination of the parole program makes it
5 clear it is not interested in facilitating additional migration from Venezuela, and a reasonable
6 migrant would not believe that a TPS designation for new Venezuelan immigrants is likely to
7 be issued by this administration. TPS status does not allow individuals to sponsor relatives for
8 migration.

9 27. *Fiscal Impact.* The register notice particularly mentions fiscal impacts on
10 local communities of the recent surge of immigrants. Though immigration is a net fiscal positive
11 for the federal government, it is true that local communities recently receiving large numbers of
12 immigrants have faced challenges ensuring adequate shelter, medical care, and education for
13 those groups (Edelberg and Watson 2022, <https://www.hamiltonproject.org/publication/policy-proposal/a-more-equitable-distribution-of-the-positive-fiscal-benefits-of-immigration/>). However,
14 those who have TPS status have the advantage of receiving a work permit, and are therefore better
15 able to be self-sufficient. Moreover, as noted above Venezuelan immigrants are more educated
16 and have higher labor force participation than average, making it less likely that they are
17 imposing significant burdens on localities. Terminating TPS will increase, not decrease, the
18 burden on localities by preventing TPS holders from working in the formal sector, thus increasing
19 the number of people needing assistance (*e.g.*, the U.S.-citizen children of deported TPS holders
20 and TPS holders who lose their work permit but are not yet removed).

21
22 28. We conclude that the harms of terminating TPS for Venezuelan migrants far outweigh
23 any purported benefits.

1 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
2 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

3
4 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Washington, DC.

5 /s/ [Signature]
6 Tara Watson

7
8 /s/
9 Stan Veuger

1 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
2 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

3
4 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Washington, DC.

5 /s/
6 Tara Watson

7
8 /s/
Stan Veuger

APPENDIX A

TARA WATSON, Ph.D.

twatson@brookings.edu

Current Positions

Brookings Institution, Director of Center for Economic Security and Opportunity, January 2023 to present, and Whitehead Chair in Economic Studies, July 2023 to present. (Previously David M. Rubenstein Fellow January 2022-July 2023.)

National Bureau of Economic Research, Research Associate, October 2011 to present. Health Economics Program (effective 2011) and Children's Program (effective 2017).

Journal of Human Resources, Co-Editor, March 2020 to present.

Education

Harvard University, Ph.D. in Economics, June 2003.

Fellow in Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy.

National Science Foundation Fellow.

Thesis Title: The Determinants and Consequences of Residential Isolation.

Wesleyan University, B.A. in Economics, May 1996.

Phi Beta Kappa and University Honors.

Research Fields

Applied Microeconomics. Particular interest in U.S. Social Policy, the U.S. Safety Net, and Immigration.

Selected Previous Experience

Williams College, Professor of Economics, July 2017 to June 2024. Previously Assistant Professor 2004-2011, Associate Professor 2011-2017, including four terms as Economics Department Director of Research, two terms Chair of the Program in Public Health, and one term as Division II representative and Chair of the Faculty Steering Committee.

Rockefeller Institute of Government, Richard P. Nathan Fellow, September 2019 to August 2020.

United States Department of Treasury, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Microeconomic Analysis, August 2015 to November 2016. Office of Economic Policy.

Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Visiting Scholar, August 2012 to May 2013. New England Public Policy Center.

University of Michigan, Robert Wood Johnson Scholar in Health Policy Research, August 2007 to July 2009.

Princeton University, Postdoctoral Research Associate, September 2003 to July 2004. Office of Population Research and Center for Research on Child Wellbeing.

National Bureau of Economic Research, Research Assistant, June to August 1999.
Research Assistant to Claudia Goldin and Lawrence Katz.

Tara Watson

Harvard University, Teaching Fellow, September 2000 to May 2001.
Teaching Fellow for Social Analysis 10 taught by Martin Feldstein.

Brookings Institution, Research Assistant, August 1996 to July 1998.
Research Assistant to Clifford Winston.

Book

Watson, Tara and Kalee Thompson, 2021. *The Border Within: The Economics of Immigration in an Age of Fear*, **University of Chicago Press**.

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Tara Watson

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Tara Watson

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Looney, Adam, and Tara Watson, 2018. “Student Loans: Sharing the Risk.” **Milken Quarterly**, (<http://www.milkenreview.org/articles/sharing-the-risk>).

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Watson, Tara, 2016. “We Must Avoid Another Lost Decade in Puerto Rico.” **Treasury Notes**, U.S. Department of Treasury, (<https://www.treasury.gov/connect/blog/Pages/We-Must-Avoid-Another-Lost-Decade-in-Puerto-Rico.aspx>).

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Watson, Tara, 2015. “Room for Debate: Lowering the Drinking Age Has Serious Consequences.” *New York Times*. (<http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/02/10/you-must-be-21-to-drink>)

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Tara Watson

Watson, Tara, 2014. “Immigrants as a Potential Source of Growth for New England’s Highly Skilled Workforce.” *New England Public Policy Center Policy Brief* 13-5, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. (<http://www.bostonfed.org/economic/neppc/briefs/2013/pb135.htm>)

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Watson, Tara, 2007. “New Housing, Income Inequality, and Distressed Metropolitan Areas.” *Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program Policy Brief Series*

Selected Grants

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, “Understanding the social safety net's impact on food security to inform policy on how best to support children in low-income families,” Healthy Eating Research Round 13 Award Number 81352. Grant period November 2023 to November 2025 (PIs Lara Shore-Sheppard and Tara Watson).

Russell Sage Foundation, “Chilling Effects and Participation in Safety Net Programs among Children of Non-Citizens: Evidence from New York State Administrative Data,” Award number 2211-40926. Grant period July 2023 to June 2025. (PI Tara Watson.)

University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, “Living Arrangements and Food Hardship among Seniors,” Subaward 3200002889-20-240. Grant Period April 2020 to August 2022. (PI Tara Watson, co-PIs Lucie Schmidt and Lara Shore-Sheppard, consultant Kristin Butcher.)

Russell Sage Foundation, “Does Social Security Reduce Poverty and Boost the Academic Achievement of Low-Income Children?,” Award number G-1808-07222. Grant period June 2019 to August 2022. (PI Tara Watson, co-PIs Lucie Schmidt and Lara Shore-Sheppard.)

Peterson Foundation U.S. 2050 Initiative, “Immigration, Care-giving Labor, and Tomorrow’s Elderly,” Grant Period April 2018 to March 2019. (PI Tara Watson, co-PI Kristin Butcher.)

Russell Sage Foundation, “The Impact of the ACA Medicaid Expansion on Public Program Participation and Labor Market Outcomes of Low-Wage Workers,” Award Number 94-17-03, Grant period December 2016 to November 2018. (PI Lara Shore-Sheppard, co-PIs Lucie Schmidt and Tara Watson.)

National Institutes of Health, R03 Small Grant Program, “The Impact of Immigration on the Living Arrangements and Health of the Elderly,” Award Number 1R03AG051861-01, Grant period September 2016 to May 2021. (PI Kristin Butcher, Senior Investigator Tara Watson.)

University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, Understanding the Relationships between SNAP, Food Security, and Health in the National Health Interview Survey Grant Program, “The Effect of SNAP and the Broader Safety Net on Mental Health and Food Insecurity,” Grant Period August 2016 to February 2018. (PI Lucie Schmidt, co-PIs Lara Shore-Sheppard and Tara Watson.)

National Institutes of Health, R21 Exploratory/Development Grant, “Barriers to Medicaid Participation among Immigrants: A Randomized Experiment,” Award Number 1R21HD071361-

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01A1, Grant Period September 2012 to September 2016. (PI Tara Watson, Other Investigator Dean Yang.)

University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, Research Program on Childhood Hunger Small Grant, “The Effect of Safety Net Programs on Food Insecurity,” Grant Period June 2011 to September 2012. (PI Tara Watson, co-PIs Lara Shore-Sheppard and Lucie Schmidt.)

West Coast Poverty Center Small Grant Competition, “Inside the Refrigerator: Welfare Reform, Immigration Enforcement, and Chilling Effects in Immigrant Medicaid Participation,” Grant Period September 2009 to August 2010. (PI Tara Watson.)

University of Michigan National Poverty Center Small Grant Competition, “Barriers to Medicaid Participation Among Immigrants,” Grant Period March 2009 to March 2010. (PI Tara Watson.)

Williams College Department of Economics Henry George Fund, “Excess School Segregation: Are Schools More Segregated than Neighborhoods, and Why?,” Grant Period August 2009. (PI Tara Watson.)

Fellowships, Honors, Workshops, and Professional Service

Association of Public Policy and Management Policy Council, February 2025 to present.

Association of Public Policy and Management Institutional Representative for Brookings, March 2024 to present.

University of North Carolina Kenan Center Distinguished Fellow, March 2023 to December 2023.

Census Sworn Status, April 2020 to present.

CeMENT Mentor for the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession, November 2013 and January 2020.

GLCA Global Public Health Workshop, Denison University, May 2019.

Williams College Workshop on Inclusive Excellence via Constructive Listening to Student Thinking, January 2019.

Williams College Racial Consciousness in the STEM Classroom Workshop, January 2018 to June 2018.

Williams College Op-Ed Project Workshop, October 2017.

RAND Summer Institute Mini-Medical School for Social Scientists and Summer Institute on Demography, Economics, Psychology, and Epidemiology of Aging Participant, July 2017.

Williams College Teaching in the Diverse Classroom Workshop, February 2014 to May 2014.

Teaching Integrity in Empirical Research Workshop, October 2013.

Inaugural Teaching Poverty 101 Workshop, University of Wisconsin Institute for Research on Poverty, June 2013.

Tara Watson

Robert Wood Johnson Scholar in Health Policy Research, August 2007 to July 2009.

Harvard Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy Doctoral Fellow, September 1999 to June 2003.

Social Science Research Council Program in Applied Economics Fellow, September 2001 to August 2002.

Lincoln Land Institute Dissertation Fellow, August 2001.

National Science Foundation Graduate Student Fellow, September 1998 to August 2001.

Wesleyan University, Phi Beta Kappa Society and University Honors, May 1996.

Presentations, Seminars, and Podcasts (non-job market)

2025: American Economic Association annual meeting, Healthy Eating Research conference (expected), University of Delaware (expected), Williams College (expected).

2024: American Economic Association annual meeting, Association of Public Policy and Management conference, Brookings Institution, Congressional Budget Office Panel of Economic Advisers, Cosmos club, Econofact podcast, Leading for Kids, Immigration Law and Policy conference, National Economists Club, New York University, White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, University of Chicago, University of North Carolina, University of Wisconsin.

2023: American Enterprise Institute, AEI Research conference (discussant), American Public Policy and Management Annual Meeting (expected), Atlanta Workshop on Public Policy and Child Well-being, Brookings Institution, Center for Global Development, Eastern Economic Association (discussant), European Policy Centre (expected), George Mason University (expected), MITRE Corporation research conference, Peterson Institute of International Economics, Russell Sage Foundation, University of North Carolina, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, United States International Trade Commission, University of the District of Columbia.

2022: Across the Margin podcast, American Enterprise Institute event on fiscal impacts of immigration, Aspen Economic Strategy Group meeting, Brookings Institution Book Event for *The Border Within: The Economics of Immigration in an Age of Fear*, Brookings Institution Webinar on immigration and caregiving, Brookings Institution/CSIS event on American talent, Children Thrive Action Network, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis (discussant), Georgetown University, Hamilton Project conference on immigration (expected), Immigration today podcast, Liberal Arts College Labor/Public Conference (keynote), National Bureau of Economic Research Immigrants and the U.S. Economy conference (discussant), National Institutes of Aging conference on economic vulnerability, New Bazaar podcast, New Books podcast, University of Chicago Press By the Book webinar, University of District of Columbia, University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research grants conference, Williams College Public Health Fireside Chat with Richard Besser.

2021 and earlier: American Economic Association meeting (discussant), American Public Policy and Management Annual Meeting, American Society of Health Economists (x5, discussant x3), American Society of Health Economists (discussant), Brandeis University, Brookings-Wharton Conference on Urban Affairs, Columbia University, Communities Mobilizing for Change on Alcohol Research Lecture Series, Eastern Economic Association Meetings, Econofact podcast, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston (x2), Hamilton Project, Harvard University, HUBWeek Boston Econofact Panel, Joint BU-MIT-Harvard Health Economics Seminar, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Land and the City Conference (discussant), MacArthur Network Conference, Mellon 23 Workshop on Economic History and Development (discussant), National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Institute (x2),

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National Tax Association conference, OECD Conference on Economic Insecurity, Population Association of America (x3), Population Association of America Economic Demography Workshop, Princeton University, Public Finance Review Special Conference, RAND Corporation, Regional Science and Urban Economics Conference, Research Program on Childhood Hunger Small Grant Conference, Robert Wood Johnson Scholars in Health Policy Program Annual Meeting (x2), Saint Michael's College, Society of Labor Economists (x3), Southern Economic Association (x2), Southeastern Health Economics Study Group Conference, SUNY University at Albany, University of California at Berkeley, University of California at Irvine, University of Colorado, University of Connecticut, University of Maryland at Baltimore, University of Michigan (x2), University of Nevada at Las Vegas, University of New Hampshire, University of Notre Dame, University of Virginia, University of Washington West Coast Poverty Center, Urban Economics Association Conference (discussant), U.S. 2050 Peterson Foundation Grant Conferences, USDA Food and Nutrition Service, Wellesley College, Wesleyan University (x2), Women in Economics Research conference (opening remarks), Williams College Bicentennial Award (moderator), Williams College Economics (x4), Williams College Public Health Panel on Coronavirus (moderator), Williams Economics panel on the economics of Covid, Williams College Faculty Lecture Series.

Referee/Reviewer Experience

American Economic Journal: Applied Economics (x6), American Economic Journal: Economic Policy (x8), American Economic Review (x3), American Journal of Health Economics (x4), American Law and Economics Review, Applied Economics and Public Policy, Berkeley Electronic Journal, Contemporary Economic Policy (x2), Canadian Journal of Economics, Demography (x7), Economic Inquiry (x2), Economics of Education Review (x2), Economics and Human Biology, Economics of Education Review, Education Finance and Policy, Forum for Health Economics and Policy, Hamilton Project Journalist Webinar, Health Affairs, Health Economics (x5), Housing Policy Debate (x2), Industrial Relations, Journal of Health Economics (x8), Journal of Health Politics, Health Policy, and Law, Journal of the European Economics Association, Journal of Human Resources (x12), Proceedings of the Pakistan Academy of Sciences, Journal of the Japanese and International Economies, Journal of Labor Economics (x2), Journal of Labor Research, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management (x9), Journal of Population Economics (x2), Journal of Public Economics (x9), Journal of Regional Science, Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs, Journal of Urban Economics (x2), Labour Economics (x2), National Science Foundation (x5), National Tax Journal, Quarterly Journal of Economics (x15), Review of Economic Inequality, Review of Economics of the Household (x3), Review of Economics and Statistics (x3), Russell Sage Foundation, Science, Social Forces, Social Problems, Social Science and Medicine (x2), Social Service Review, Southern Economic Journal (x2), State and Local Government Review (x5), Urban Geography, Urban Studies(x2), USDA/University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research (x2), Williams College Women in Economics Research Conference.

Internal Service

Sadie Collective mentor for Brookings poster session (February 2024)
 Elected Member, Faculty Steering Committee (July 2020 to June 2022)
 Co-Organizer, Promoting Inclusion in Economic Research Conference (July 2019 to June 2022)
 Bolin Fellow Mentoring Committee (July 2021 to June 2022)
 Advisory Committee for Program in Public Health (September 2011 to present)
 Ombudsperson Search Committee (June 2021 to October 2021)
 Co-Organizer, Inclusive Williams Roundtable Project (December 2020 to October 2021)
 Catholic Chaplain Search Committee (January 2020 to June 2021)
 Chair, Program in Public Health (January 2021 to June 2021, and three previous terms)
 Chair, Faculty Steering Committee (July 2020 to December 2020)
 Strategic Planning Working Group on Faculty and Staff Development (May 2019 to June 2020)
 Leader, Public Health Self-Study (January 2019 to April 2020)

Committee on Priorities and Resources (July 2017 to June 2019)
 Economics Department Bolin Committee (July 2018 to June 2019)
 Co-Organizer, Women in Economic Research conference (July 2018 to April 2019)
 New Faculty Mentor (January 2014-December 2014, September 2017-June 2018)
 Committee on Academic Standing (January 2017 to June 2017)
 Bookstore Committee (July 2014 to June 2015)
 Organizer, Williams Poverty Initiative Panel on First Generation Faculty (February 2015)
 Chair, Economics Curriculum Committee (July 2013 to June 2014)
 Economics Department Hiring Committee (July 2011 to June 2012)
 Bolin Fellow Selection Committee (December 2011-January 2012)
 Elected Member, Committee on Educational Policy (February 2010-June 2012)
 Committee on Undergraduate Life (September 2006-June 2007 and September 2009-February 2010)
 Chair, Minority Coalition Funding Subcommittee of CUL (September 2009-February 2010)
 Panelist, Students for Social Justice Dinner on Health Reform (Fall 2009)
 Speaker, Women's Center Lunch on Health Reform (Fall 2009)
 Co-chair, Diversity Subcommittee of CUL (September 2006-June 2007)
 Mead Internship Committee (September 2005-May 2006)
 Advisory Committee on Shareholder Responsibility (January 2006-June 2007)
 Economics Department Graduate/Post-graduate Advisor (2005-2006 and 2006-2007)
 Co-organizer, Brown Bag Lunch (2005-2006 and Fall 2006)

Research Supervision and Advising

Mina Burns, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2021-Spring 2022)
 Vanessa Oeien, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2021-Spring 2022)
 Seha Karabacak, Research Assistant Supervisor (Fall 2021)
 Daniel Page, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring-Summer 2021)
 Bashudha Dhamala, Research Assistant Supervisor (Fall 2020)
 Mina Burns, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2020)
 Peter Le, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring 2020)
 Ahna Pearson, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2019)
 Marcone Correia, Independent Study (Spring 2019)
 Betty Chen, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2019)
 Adam Zoen, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2018-Spring 2019)
 Coly Elhai, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2018-Spring 2019)
 Ben Gips, Independent Study (Fall 2018-Winter 2019)
 Anna Passanante, Research Assistant co-Supervisor (Summer 2018)
 Arno Cai, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring-Summer 2018 and Spring 2020)
 Ryan Kelley, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2018)
 Kathy Bi, Thesis Advisor (Spring 2018)
 Sichao Liu, Thesis Co-Advisor (Fall 2017-Spring 2018)
 Anand Butler, Research Assistant Supervisor (Fall 2017-Spring 2018)
 Yinga Xia, Research Assistant Supervisor (Winter 2017)
 Mie Mizutani, Research Assistant Supervisor (Winter 2017)
 Catherine Jiang, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2014 and January 2015)
 Lei Brutus, Research Assistant Co-Supervisor (Summer 2014)
 Sam Woodbury, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2014)
 Wendy Magoronga, Thesis Advisor (Spring 2012)
 Wendy Magoronga, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2011 and Summer 2012)
 Alexa Lutchen, Thesis Advisor and Van Duyne Supervisor (Summer 2010-Spring 2011)
 Leland Brewster, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2010-Spring 2011)
 Leland Brewster, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring 2010)
 Corey Paulish, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2009)
 Joanna Hoffman, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2009)

Tara Watson

Aatif Abbas, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2006)
David Phillips, Independent Study (Fall 2010-Winter 2011)
Courtney Gainer, Independent Study (Fall 2006-Winter 2007)
Amelia Hawkins, Independent Study (Winter 2006)
Mia Desimone, Second Reader of Anthropology Thesis (Spring 2010)
Candice Corvetti, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2007)
Andrew Pocius, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2006)
Andra Hibbert, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2005)

Courses (Williams College)

Econ 019 Volunteer Income Tax Assistance (Winter 2005, Winter 2006, Winter 2012, Winter 2015)
Econ 110 Introductory Microeconomics (Fall 2005, Spring 2006)
Econ 205 Public Finance (Fall 2004, Spring 2017, Fall 2017)
Econ 255 Econometrics (Spring 2006, Spring 2007, Spring 2010, Spring 2011, Spring 2012, Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2017, Fall 2018)*
Econ 373 Economics of Immigration (Fall 2021)
Econ 456 Poverty and Place (Fall 2006)*
Econ 468 Your Money or Your Life: Health Disparities in the United States (Fall 2009, Fall 2011, Spring 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2018, Spring 2019, Spring 2021, Fall 2021)*
Econ 503 Econometrics Advanced Section (CDE Masters Level, Fall 2017, Fall 2018)
Econ 510 Econometrics (CDE Masters Level, Fall 2005, Fall 2006, Fall 2009, Fall 2011)
Econ 511 Econometrics Combined Section (CDE Masters Level, Fall 2004)

*Courses each included the supervision of 7-18 original empirical projects.

Personal Information

Married, three children.
U.S. citizen, born in Washington, D.C.

Updated 02.18.25.

APPENDIX B

STAN ANTONIUS VEUGER
(last updated: February 16, 2025)

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Professional Experience

Fall 2016, 2018-2021, 2024, 2025	Visiting Lecturer of Economics, Harvard University
2023-Present	Expert, Aurora Macro Strategies
2021-Present	Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
2017-Present	Future World Fellow, Center for the Governance of Change, IE University
2016-Present	Consultant, expertpowerhouse
May 2022	Campbell Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution
2018-2021	Extramural Fellow, Tilburg School of Economics and Management, Tilburg University
2013-2021	Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute
2012-2013	Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Education

LL.B., Laws, University of London, 2020
Ph.D., Economics, Harvard University, 2012
A.M., Economics, Harvard University, 2009
M.Sc., Economics, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2005
CEMS MIM, International Management, CEMS - The Global Alliance in Management Education, 2004
Doctorandus, Spanish Language and Literature, Universiteit Utrecht, 2004
Doctorandus, Business Administration, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2004

Articles in Academic Journals

“[Implications of Cannabis Legalization for the US Federal Budget](#)” (Forthcoming) *Public Budgeting & Finance*. Joint with Alex Brill and Brian Miller.

“[Destruction, Policy, and the Evolving Consequences of Washington, DC’s 1968 Civil Disturbance](#)” (Forthcoming) *Review of Economics and Statistics*. Joint with Leah Brooks and Jonathan Rose.

“[Lessons for Cannabinoid Regulation from Electronic Nicotine Delivery System Product Regulation](#)” (2024) *Health Affairs Scholar* 2(8): qxae101. Joint with Paul Larkin, Brian Miller, and Brian Yagi.

“[Spatial Spillovers and the Effects of Fiscal Stimulus: Evidence from Pandemic-Era Federal Aid for State and Local Governments](#)” (2024) *Spatial Economic Analysis* 19(3): 411-35. Special Issue on Spatial Macroeconomics. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens, John Kearns, and Beatrice Lee.

“[How Did Federal Aid to States and Localities Affect Testing and Vaccine Delivery?](#)” (2023) *Journal of Public Economics* 225: 104972. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens, Philip Hoxie, and John Kearns.

“[Moving to Density: Half a Century of Housing Costs and Wage Premia from Queens to King Salmon](#)” (2023) *Journal of Public Economics* 222: 104906. Joint with Philip Hoxie and Daniel Shoag.

“[Economic Shocks and Clinging](#)” (2022) *Contemporary Economic Policy* 40(3): 456-475. Joint with Michael Strain.

“[Medicaid and Fiscal Federalism During the COVID-19 Pandemic](#)” (2021) *Public Budgeting & Finance* 41(4): 94-109. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Benedic Ippolito.

- [“Politics and the Distribution of Federal Funds: Evidence from Federal Legislation in Response to COVID-19”](#) (2021) *Journal of Public Economics* 204: 104554. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Ban-the-Box Measures Help High-Crime Neighborhoods”](#) (2021) *Journal of Law and Economics* 64(1): 85-105. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Implications of the COVID-19 Pandemic for State Government Tax Revenues”](#) (2020) *National Tax Journal* 73(3): 619-644. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Taking My Talents to South Beach \(and Back\): Evidence from a Superstar Athlete”](#) (2019) *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 22(12): 1950-1960. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Rules versus Home Rule: Local Government Responses to Negative Revenue Shocks”](#) (2019) *National Tax Journal* 72(3): 543-574. Joint with Daniel Shoag and Cody Tuttle.
- [“Do Land Use Restrictions Increase Restaurant Quality and Diversity?”](#) (2019) *Journal of Regional Science* 59(3): 435-451. Special Issue on Endogenous Amenities and Cities. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Shops and the City: Evidence on Local Externalities and Local Government Policy from Big-Box Bankruptcies”](#) (2018) *Review of Economics and Statistics* 100(3): 440-453. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Information Frictions in Uncertain Regulatory Environments: Evidence from U.S. Commercial Banks”](#) (2017) *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 79(2): 205-233. Joint with Kristin Wilson.
- [“Risks to the Returns to Medical Innovation: The Case of Myriad Genetics”](#) (2017) *Contemporary Economic Policy* 35(2): 345-357. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Uncertainty and the Geography of the Great Recession”](#) (2016) *Journal of Monetary Economics* 84: 84-93. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Dividends and Investment: Evidence of Heterogeneous Firm Behavior”](#) (2016) *Public Finance Review* 44(6): 769-787. Joint with Aparna Mathur, Nirupama Rao, and Michael Strain.
- [“Repeal of the Medicare Sustainable Growth Rate: Direct and Indirect Consequences”](#) (2015) *American Medical Association Journal of Ethics* 17(11): 1053-1058. Special Issue on High-Value Care. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Football under Pressure: Assessing Malfeasance in Deflategate”](#) (2015) *Journal of Sports Analytics* 1(2): 103-110. Special Issue on Sports Law Analytics. Joint with Kevin Hassett and Joseph Sullivan.
- [“Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement”](#) (2013) *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(4): 1633-1685. Joint with Andreas Madestam, Daniel Shoag, and David Yanagizawa-Drott.

Working Papers

- [“Was Pandemic Fiscal Relief Effective Fiscal Stimulus? Evidence from Aid to State and Local Governments,”](#) NBER Working Paper 30168. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Philip Hoxie.
- [“What Do States Do with Fiscal Windfalls? Evidence from the Pandemic,”](#) AEI Economics Working Paper 2024-05. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens, Oliver Giesecke, and Joshua Rauh.
- [“Aid for Incumbents: The Electoral Consequences of COVID-19 Relief,”](#) AEI Economics Working Paper 2024-14. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Julia Payson.

Policy Briefs and Such

- [“Immigration and the Macroeconomy in the Second Trump Administration”](#) (2024) American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Brookings Institution, and Niskanen Center, December 3. Joint with Wendy Edelberg, Cecilia Esterline, and Tara Watson.
- [“How Do Workers Perceive the Risks from Automation and the Opportunities to Retrain? Evidence from a Survey of Truck Drivers”](#) (2024) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2024-08. Joint with Daniel Shoag and Michael Strain.
- [“Immigration and the Macroeconomy after 2024”](#) (2024) American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Brookings Institution, and Niskanen Center, October 16. Joint with Wendy Edelberg, Cecilia Esterline, and Tara Watson.

- [“Candidates’ Dueling Child Credit Expansions Explained”](#) (2024) *Tax Notes Federal* 185 (October 7): 115-118. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.
- [“Aid for Incumbents: The Electoral Consequences of COVID-19 Relief”](#) (2024) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economic Policy* 401. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Julia Payson.
- [“Implications of Cannabis Legalization for the US Federal Budget”](#) (2024) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economic Policy* 396. Joint with Alex Brill and Brian Miller.
- [“Housing and the American Worker”](#) (2024) The American Worker Project: Toward a New Consensus. Economic Innovation Group, July.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2024: Crimes, Convictions, and Corrections: Long-Run Trends in the Capital Region”](#) (2024) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 17. Joint with Domonic Bearfield, Leah Brooks, and Ferdinando Monte.
- [“Place-Based Policy and Economic Development”](#) (2024) *Perspectives on Place-Based Policy: Strategies for Workforce and Economic Development*. Workforce Futures Initiative. American Enterprise Institute, March 27.
- [“Working from Density,”](#) (2023) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2023-05. Joint with Leah Brooks and Philip Hoxie.
- [“Protecting Workers, Firms, and Worker-Firm Attachment During COVID-19: Economic Considerations for the Assessment of Policy Measures”](#) (2023) World Bank Jobs Group *Jobs Notes* 15. Joint with Eliana Carranza and Michael Weber.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2023: The Ups and Downs of Mortgage Markets from the Financial Crisis Through the Pandemic”](#) (2023) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 18. Joint with Leah Brooks and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“Was Pandemic Fiscal Relief Effective Fiscal Stimulus? Evidence from Aid to State and Local Governments”](#) (2022) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economy Policy* 299. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Philip Hoxie.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2022: Commuting Patterns and Transportation Infrastructure”](#) (2022) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 18. Joint with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian J. McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“El futuro del Partido Republicano”](#) (2021) *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Político* 71: 43-50.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2021: Where Capital Region Workers Live and Labor”](#) (2021) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 19. Joint with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian J. McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“EE.UU.: del COVID a las elecciones presidenciales - Una mirada a las agendas republicana y democrata”](#) (2020) *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Político* 68: 73-83.
- [“The COVID-19 Pandemic and the Revenues of State and Local Governments: An Update”](#) (2020) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2020-07. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Which Taxes Pay for Which State and Local Employees?”](#) (2020) *Mercatus Center COVID-19 Economic Recovery Policy Brief Series*, July 2. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2020: A Region in Demographic and Economic Transition”](#) (2020) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 19. Joint with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian J. McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“Time to Prepare for Voting by Mail”](#) (2020) *Mercatus Center COVID-19 Crisis Response Policy Brief Series*, March 31. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Modern Monetary Theory and Policy”](#) (2019) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2019-01.
- [“Strategic Voting in Proportional Representation Systems: A Model with Evidence from the Netherlands”](#) (2018) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2018-01b. Joint with Tim Ganser.
- [“Shops and the City: Evidence on Local Externalities and Local Government Policy from Big-Box Bankruptcies”](#) (2017) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economy Policy* 92. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Adjusting to the Border Adjustment Tax: Imperfections and Unintended Consequences”](#) (2017) *Mercatus on Policy*, March.
- [“Uncertainty and the Geography of the Great Recession”](#) (2017) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economy Policy* 69. Joint with Daniel Shoag.

- “[Door fixatie op langdurige stagnatie mis je veel](#)” (2016) *Economisch Statistische Berichten* 101(4742): 673-675. Joint with Roel Beetsma and Raymond Gradus.
- “[Business Cycle Shocks to Foreign Aid Flows](#)” (2016) *Procedia Engineering* 159: 326-328. Joint with Nikolai Boboshko.
- “[On the Wells Report](#)” (2015) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2015-06a. Joint with Kevin Hassett and Joseph Sullivan.

Edited Volumes

- [Preserving Links in the Pandemic: Policies to Maintain Worker-Firm Attachment in the OECD](#). Washington, DC: AEI Press, 2023. Joint with Michael Strain (eds.).
- [Economic Freedom and Human Flourishing: Perspectives from Political Philosophy](#). Washington, DC: AEI Press, 2016. Joint with Michael Strain (eds.).

Book Chapters

- “Simulating Public Pension Funding with Realistic Asset Prices,” in Healey, Thomas, and Roger Porter (ed.) *Gathering Storm: The Risks of State Pension Underfunding*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming. Joint with James Farrell and Daniel Shoag.
- “Intergovernmental Grants and Policy Competition: Concepts, Institutions, and Evidence,” in Agrawal, David, James Poterba, and Owen Zidar (ed.) [Policy Responses to Tax Competition](#). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Forthcoming. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- “Modern Monetary Theory Has No Roadmap for Dealing with Inflation,” in Bourne, Ryan (ed.) *The War on Prices: Misconceptions about Inflation, Policy, and Value*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2024.
- “[Lessons from COVID-19 Aid to State and Local Governments for the Design of Federal Automatic Stabilizers](#),” in Kearney, Melissa S., and Amy Ganz (ed.) *Economic Policy in a More Uncertain World*. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute Press, 2023. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- “Populismo económico y globalización en el siglo XXI,” in Sánchez Costa, Fernando, Miriam Tey, and Martín Gurría (ed.) [En defensa de la democracia: Crisis política, populismo y nacionalismo desde Barcelona a Washington](#). Córdoba, Spain: Editorial Almuzara, 2019.
- “The Economics of Prisoner Reentry,” in Elizabeth English and Gerard Robinson (eds.) [Education for Liberation: The Politics of Promise and Reform Inside and Beyond America’s Prisons](#). Lanham, Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield, 2019. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- “Harvard in the Past Quarter Century and the Next Century,” in *Harvard and Holland: 375 Years*, 93-94. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Indivers, 2011.

Letters to Editors of Medical Journals

- “[Reduced Opioid Marketing Could Limit Prescribing Information for Physicians](#),” *JAMA Internal Medicine* (2018) 178: 10, 1724. Joint with Benedic Ippolito.
- “[Letter Regarding Maryland Alcohol Sales Tax and Sexually Transmitted Infections](#),” *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* (2016) 50:5, e159. Joint with Roeland J. Middelbeek.
- “[Letter to the Editor Re: Neurobehavioral Deficits, Diseases, and Associated Costs of Exposure to Endocrine-Disrupting Chemicals in the European Union](#),” *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism* (2015) 100:4, L52–L53. Joint with Roeland J. Middelbeek.

Recent Teaching Experience

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Fall 2016, 2018-2021, 2024 | Visiting Lecturer, Department of Economics, Harvard University, “Public Economics: Designing Government Policy” |
| Summer 2024 | Instructor, AEI Summer Honors Program, “Across Borders: Navigating Globalization” |

Spring 2024	Guest Lecturer, George Mason University, “Applied Econometrics”
April 2019-2021	Guest Lecturer, Tilburg School of Economics and Management, “Public Sector Economics”
April 2021	Guest Lecturer, Taylor University, “The Pursuit of Happiness: Foundations and Future of American Government”
December 2019	Guest Lecturer, Georgetown University, “Markets and the Making of the U.S.”
May 2018	Guest Lecturer, Eitan Berglas School of Economics, Tel Aviv University, “Regional and Urban Economics”
February 2018	Guest Lecturer, Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration, George Washington University, “Criminal Justice Policy: Theory and Practice”
February 2017	Guest Lecturer, Institute for Global Leadership, Tufts University, “Education for Public Inquiry and International Citizenship”

Legislative Testimony, Public Comments on Proposed Rules and Regulations, and Amicus Briefs

Brief for Amici Curiae Drs. Stan Veuger, Tara Watson, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, & Leah Boustan in Support of Defendants-Appellees and Supporting Affirmance. *State of Texas et al. v. U.S. Department of Homeland Security et al.*, Civil Action No. 6:23-cv-00007. United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. August 2, 2024. Joint with Tara Watson, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, and Leah Boustan.

Brief for Tax Economists as Amici Curiae in Support of Respondent. *Charles G. Moore and Kathleen F. Moore v. United States of America*, No. 22-800, Supreme Court of the United States. October 23, 2023. Joint with Alex Brill, Kyle Pomerleau, Michael Strain, and Alan Viard.

Memorandum of Law as Amici Curiae in Opposition to Plaintiffs’ Request for Injunctive and Other Equitable Relief. *State of Texas et al. v. U.S. Department of Homeland Security et al.*, Civil Action No. 6:23-cv-00007, United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Victoria Division. August 11, 2023. Joint with Tara Watson, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, and Leah Boustan.

Testimony in Support of the BABY Act of 2023. Written Testimony to the Council of the District of Columbia Committee on Housing, May 31, 2023. Joint with Fadwa Berouel.

Public Comment on the Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Proposed Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Rule, FR-6123-P-02. March 16, 2020. Joint with Daniel Shoag.

Public Comment on OPM’s Proposed Revision of Declaration for Federal Employment Optional Form (OF) 306. April 22, 2019.

Re: H.R. 1076 (Fair Chance to Compete for Jobs Act of 2019). Letter to the House Committee on Oversight and Reform, March 25, 2019. Joint with Terry-Ann Craigie, Dallan Flake, John Schmitt, Heidi Shierholz, Daniel Shoag, and Valerie Wilson.

Policy Uncertainty and the Small-Business Economy. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee on Economic Growth, Tax and Capital Access, February 16, 2017.

Even If You Like Your Plan, You May Well Lose Your Plan. And Even If You Like Your Doctor, You May Well Lose Your Doctor. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Health, July 28, 2014.

Comments on H.R. 2996 “Revitalize American Manufacturing and Innovation Act of 2013.” U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Science, Space, and Technology, Subcommittee on Research and Technology, December 12, 2013.

Recent Debates, Panels, Presentations and Workshops

2025	National Capital Area Political Science Association American Politics Workshop
2024	AEI, AEI-Brookings-HKS Workforce Futures Initiative, Embassy of Estonia in the United States, Embassy of the Netherlands in the United States, Liberty Fund, North American Meeting of the Urban Economics Association, Redeemer University

2023	AEI, AEI-Brookings-HKS Workforce Futures Initiative, Annual Conference of the American Real Estate and Urban Economics, Cato Institute Sphere Summit: Foundations of Civic Culture, DC History Conference, Harvard University, Hertog Foundation Political Studies Program, Holland on the Hill, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, National Bureau of Economic Research, Netherland-America Foundation, VVD USA
2022	AEI, Fall Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Brookings Institution, Embassy of the Netherlands in the United States, Federal Committee on Statistical Methodology Research and Policy Conference, Hoover Institution, Impact Summit America, North American Meeting of the Urban Economics Association, Washington DC Urban Economics Day, West Michigan Policy Forum Biennial Conference
2021	AEI, Americans for Tax Reform, European User Conference for EU-Microdata, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Graduate School USA, Harvard University, Netherland-America Foundation
2020	AEI, Americans for Tax Reform, Aspen Institute España, Carnegie Mellon University Tepper School of Business, Delegation of the European Union to the United States, Embassy of the Netherlands in the United States, FreedomWorks, Fundación para el Análisis y los Estudios Sociales, Harvard University, Lincoln Network, Netherland-America Foundation, Seaside Institute

Recent Opinion Writing

“Even the Mere Threat of Tariffs Causes Inflation,” *AEIdeas*, February 12, 2025.

“Brazil’s Slow-Burning Economic Crisis Might Be the U.S. Future,” *Foreign Policy*, February 10, 2025. Joint with Mikkel Davies.

“Trump’s Tariffs Would Make Fentanyl Cheaper,” *AEIdeas*, January 31, 2025.

“Trump’s Tariffs Would Attract Illegal Immigrants,” *AEIdeas*, January 31, 2025.

“Tariffs and Exchange Rates (and Stephen Miran),” *AEIdeas*, December 27, 2024.

“Forward Guidance Continues to Lead the Fed Astray,” *AEIdeas*, December 26, 2024. Joint with Mikkel Davies.

“SALT Is Not as Bad for You as the Experts Claim,” *AEIdeas*, December 13, 2024.

“Donald Trump’s Immigration Policies Would Dampen GDP Growth,” *AEIdeas*, November 5, 2024. Joint with Wendy Edelberg and Tara Watson.

“Trump Proposes Bringing Back the Deduction for Auto Loan Interest,” *AEIdeas*, October 16, 2024. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.

“Overtime Income Tax Break: Not Illogical, Just Costly and Complicated,” *AEIdeas*, October 7, 2024. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.

“The Federal Reserve Needs to Stop Looking Backward,” *Foreign Policy*, September 16, 2024. Joint with Mikkel Davies.

“A Tip Exemption Is Not Sound Tax Policy,” *AEIdeas*, August 16, 2024. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.

“The New Dutch Government Is a Total Mess,” *Foreign Policy*, July 11, 2024.

“The Center Holds in the European Parliament,” *AEIdeas*, June 11, 2024.

“Jared Bernstein, MMT, and Fighting Inflation,” *AEIdeas*, May 14, 2024.

“Don’t Gut 401ks and IRAs to Save Social Security,” *Liberty Lens – An Economics Substack*, January 24, 2024. Joint with Joshua Rauh.

“This Corporate Law Case Could Accidentally Overturn U.S. Taxes,” *Foreign Policy*, December 4, 2023. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.

“Populist Rage Gives Dutch Far Right a Worrying Shot at Power,” *Foreign Policy*, November 27, 2023.

“Speculating About the Upcoming Election in the Netherlands,” *AEIdeas*, November 17, 2023.

“The Supreme Court Should Leave the Tax Code Alone,” *AEIdeas*, October 24, 2023. Joint with Alex Brill, Kyle Pomerleau, Michael Strain, and Alan Viard.

“The British Experiment in Self-Government Continues,” *Foreign Policy*, July 22, 2023.

“The Great Recession, COVID-19, Interest Hikes Left a 15-Year Mark on Housing,” *Greater Greater Washington*, July 17, 2023 (with Leah Brooks, Jenny Schuetz, and Daniel Burge).

“The New Washington Consensus is Wrong,” *Foreign Policy*, June 12, 2023 (with James Capretta).

“Americans Need to Acknowledge Their Unwritten Constitution,” *Foreign Policy*, May 6, 2023.

“The American System of Fiscal Federalism,” *The American System*, March 30, 2023; *The American Conservative*, March 30, 2023 (with Jeffrey Clemens).

“The Netherlands’ Eternal Prime Minister Survives Another Populist Wave,” *Foreign Policy*, March 20, 2023.

“Republican Brinkmanship Over Debt Ceiling Risks US Economy, Ignores Core Problems,” *The UnPopulist*, February 21, 2023.

“Biden Can Use a First Fix for a Broken Immigration System,” *Foreign Policy*, January 30, 2023 (with Alex Nowrasteh and Tara Watson).

“We Gave States Too Much COVID Relief,” *The Bulwark*, January 25, 2023 (with Jeffrey Clemens).

“From the AEI Archive: AEI Scholars on Inflation,” *AEIdeas*, October 17, 2022 (with Karlyn Bowman).

“The Dutch Farmers’ Revolt Isn’t Brexit or MAGA,” *The UnPopulist*, September 10, 2022.

“It Is Simply Not the Case That Globalization ‘Led To Economic Hardship Among Working Class Families,’” *The International Economy*, Summer, 2022.

“Russian Sanctions Are Working but Slowly,” *Foreign Policy*, July 18, 2022 (with Oleg Korenok and Swapnil Singh).

“Covid-19 Federal Assistance to State and Local Governments and Its Consequences,” *VoxEU*, July 11, 2022 (with Jeffrey Clemens and Philip Hoxie).

“Is the European Union on Course to Become the Big Loser in the Global Tech Race?” *The International Economy*, Spring, 2022.

“Here Are the Main Tools for Fighting Inflation,” *The Bulwark*, May 11, 2022 (with Daniel Shoag).

“Greater Washington’s Commuters Continue to Choose Gridlock,” *The Avenue: Rethinking Metropolitan America*, Brookings Institution, May 6, 2022; *Greater Greater Washington* May 20, 2022 (with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz).

“Modern Economics Is Not An Illuminati Conspiracy,” *American Compass*, March 29, 2022.

“The Economy Is Still in Pandemic Shock. But Some State Governments Are Flush with Cash,” *Washington Post*, December 15, 2021.

“No, Eliminating the SALT Cap Will Not Reduce Charitable Giving,” *AEIdeas*, October 8, 2021; *Washington Examiner*, October 11, 2021; *Yahoo! Money*, October 11, 2021; *The Buffalo Chronicle*, October 25, 2021 (with Kyle Pomerleau).

“Christian Democratic Losses and Social-Democratic Gains, This Time in Germany,” *AEIdeas*, September 27, 2021; “German Election: Social Democrats Score and Christian Democrats Lose,” *The National Interest*, October 6, 2021.

“Progress and New Challenges on the International Travel Front,” *AEIdeas*, September 22, 2021.

“Biden’s Travel Ban Remains Indefensible,” *AEIdeas*, September 17, 2021.

“Biden’s Cruel and Bizarre Travel Ban,” *AEIdeas*, September 9, 2021.

“As European Christian Democrats Continue Their Decline, Social-Democrats Arise,” *AEIdeas*, August 25, 2021.

“Inflation Won’t Just Hurt the Rich,” *Persuasion*, June 30, 2021 (with Daniel Shoag).

Contribution to “Is the G7 Tax Initiative Another Form of Economic Colonialism?” *IFC Review*, June 16, 2021.

“What Pre-Pandemic Job Trends Suggest About the Post-Pandemic Future of the Capital Region,” *The Avenue: Rethinking Metropolitan America*, Brookings Institution, May 12, 2021; *Greater Greater Washington*, May 14, 2021 (with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz).

“State and Local Government Budgets Are in Better Shape than Expected,” *AEIdeas*, February 2, 2021 (with Jeffrey Clemens).

“How to Make Biden’s American Rescue Plan Better,” *The Bulwark*, February 1, 2021.

“Time for Congress to Shape Commerce,” *The Bulwark*, January 25, 2021 (with Ryan C. Berg and Lauri Tähinen).

“Trump Failed. And So Did Trumpism.” *The Bulwark*, January 21, 2021 (with James Capretta).

Select Media Appearances

Video Al Jazeera English “Inside Story,” “News,” “NewsGrid,” “Newshour,” and “Quotable,” Americano Media, “Así Está el Mundo,” Arise TV “Arise Review,” Arizona PBS “Cronkite News,” Armstrong TV “The Right Side,” The Blaze TV “Real News,” CBC News Network “Power and Politics,” CBN “Faith Nation,” CGTN “Global Business America,” CNBC “Nightly Business Report” and “Squawk Box,” CNBC Asia “Capital Connection,” CNN en Español “CNN Dinero,” “Choque de Opiniones,” and “Directo USA,” CNN International “CNN Today,” C-SPAN “Washington Journal,” C-SPAN 2 Book TV “After Words,” Entravision “Perspectiva Naciona” and “Política Ya con Tsi-Tsi-Ki Félix,” EWTN “News Nightly,” Foundation for Constitutional Government “Conversations with Bill Kristol,” Fox Business Network “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” “Making Money with Charles Payne,” “Mornings with Maria,” and “The Willis Report,” FoxNews.com “Power Play,” Fox News Channel “America’s Newsroom,” “The Real Story with Gretchen Carlson,” “Special Report with Bret Baier,” and “Your World with Neil Cavuto,” France 2 “Le Journal de 20 Heures,” HuffPost Live, i24NEWS “i24 News Desk,” “Global Eye,” and “The Rundown,” MSNBC “MSNBC Live with Katy Tur,” Nederland 1 “Pauw en Witteman,” News 5 Cleveland, Newsmax TV “The Steve Malzberg Show,” NOS “Achtuurjournaal” and “Amerika Kiest,” NTN24 “Cuestión de Poder,” “Efecto Naim,” “Informativo NTN,” “La Tarde – Fin de Semana,” “Nuestras Noticias,” and “Poder Latino,” RTVE “El Mundo en 24 Horas,” SBS6 “Lotto Weekend Miljonairs,” Sky News Arabia, Telemundo “Al Rojo Vivo” and “Noticias Telemundo,” Telemundo 44 “Noticiero,” The Young Turks “Indisputable with Dr. Rashad Richey,” TRT World “DC Direct,” “Roundtable,” and “Newshour,” TV One “NewsOne Now,” TV Venezuela “Código 58,” Univision “¡Despierta América!,” “Noticiero Univision,” and “Noticiero Univision: Edición Nocturna,” Univision Boston, Univision Washington DC, Voice of America “El Mundo al Día” and “Foro Interamericano,” WUSA “9News Now at 7.”

Audio 101.1 FM The Answer “The Dave Elswick Show,” 101.3 ESPN “AJ & Rich,” 55KRC “The Brian Thomas Morning Show,” 710 KNUS “The Deborah Flora Show,” 98.5 The Sports Hub “The Adam Jones Show” and “The Toucher and Rich Show,” America’s News Radio “The Rusty Humphries Show,” American Public Media “Marketplace,” “Amerikaanse Toestanden,” BBC World Service “Newsday” and “World Business Report,” CBC Radio One “The Current,” CRN Radio “The George Jarkesy Show,” IRN/USA News “Chuck Morse Speaks,” “The Jim Engster Show,” KCRW “Left, Right & Center,” KJZZ “The Show,” KKFT and KRNG “America Matters with Steve Ause,” KNRS “The Rod Arquette Show,” KSEV and KVCE “The Voice of Texas,” KTTH “The David Boze Show,” “Macro Musings with David Beckworth,” Main Street Radio “The Alan Nathan Show,” KXL, “The Lars Larson Show,” MBC Broadcasting “Bill Martinez Live,” Newstalk 97.1 “The Randy Tobler Show,” NPO Radio 1 “Dit is de Nacht” en “Met het oog op morgen,” “Political Economy with James Pethokoukis,” PowNed “Echte Jannen,” Radio Ciudad 1110 AM “Corresponsales en Línea,” Radio Free Europe, Relevant Radio “The Drew Mariani Show,” “The Roger Hedgecock Show,” Salem “Evening News,” “Market Wrap with Moe Ansari,” and “The Steve Deace Show,” Sirius XM “POTUS On-Call,” “The Michael Smerconish Program,” and “The Steele and Ungar Show,” Swedish National Radio, Voice of Russia, WATR “Talk of the Town,” WBZ Newsradio 1030, WCBM “Sean and Frank,” WCGO “The Federalist Radio Hour,” WCPN “The Power of Ideas,” WEEL “Dale & Holley,” Westwood One “The Jim Bohannon Show,” WFTL “The Joyce Kaufman Show,” WHCR “Let Your Voice Be Heard,” WJR “The Frank Beckmann Show,” World News Radio “The World and Everything In It,” WOSU “All Sides with Ann Fisher,” WRAL “Financial Myth Busting with Dawn Bennett,” WRVA “The Jimmy Barrett Show.” WSPD

“The Scott Sands Show,” WWL “Newell Normand,” “Tommy Tucker, WWL First News,” and “The Think Tank,” WYPR “Midday with Dan Rodricks.”

Media Coverage

ABC News, AFP, Akron Beacon Journal, Al Jazeera, Albuquerque Journal, Amarillo Globe-News, American Conservative, AP, Asheville Citizen-Times, Austin American-Statesman, Baltimore Sun, BBC, Billings Gazette, Black Mountain News, The Blaze, Bleacher Report, Bloomberg, Børsen, Boston Globe, Boston Herald, Business Insider, Cannabis Wire, Capital Journal, CBS Boston, CBS Sports, CelebrityBalla, Chicago Tribune, Chosun Ilbo, Christian Broadcasting Network, Christian Science Monitor, CNBC, CNN, Columbia Daily Tribune, Columbus Dispatch, Comcast Sportsnet, Commentary, Courier-Journal, CQ Researcher, Dagelijkse Standaard, Daily Herald, Daily Mail, Daily Signal, Dallas News, Denver Post, Detroit Free Press, Drudge Report, Economics21, The Economist, Effingham Daily News, El Mundo, El País, Erie Times-News, ESPN, Everett Herald, Fayetteville Observer, Financial Times, Het Financieele Dagblad, Fiscal Times, FiveThirtyEight, Forbes, Foreign Affairs, Fortune, Fox Business, Fox News, Fox Sports, Globe and Mail, O Globo, Great Falls Tribune, Haaretz, Handelsblatt, Hartford Courant, Huffington Post, Hugh Hewitt Show, Human Events, Inc., Indianapolis Star, InsideSources, InstaPundit, Investor’s Business Daily, Jacobin Magazine, Jawa Pos, Kansas City Star, La Voix du Nord, Las Vegas Review-Journal, MacLean’s, Malaysia Sun, Marginal Revolution, Marketplace, MinnPost, Mother Jones, MSN, National Affairs, National Interest, National Journal, National Review, NBC News, NBC Sport, NESN, New Hampshire Union Leader, New Orleans Times-Picayune, New Republic, New York Daily News, New York Post, New York Times, News & Observer, Newsmax, Newsweek, Nord Éclair, NPR, Oakland Press, Orlando Sentinel, Ouest-France, Palm Beach Post, PBS, Philadelphia Inquirer, Politico, Portland Press Herald, PowerLineBlog, Pulso, Quartz, RealClearPolicy, RealClearPolitics, RealClearSports, RealClearWorld, Reason, Reuters, Ricochet, Roll Call, Sabah, Salon, San Diego Union-Tribune, San José Mercury News, San Juan Daily Star, Seattle Times, Springfield News-Sun, Stamford Advocate, Saudi Gazette, Sierra Vista Herald, Slate, Star Tribune, State Tax Notes, The Street, Sun-Sentinel, Sydney Morning Herald, Talking Points Memo, Tampa Bay Times, Tax Notes, La Tercera, Time, Toronto Sun, TownHall, Troy Record, Tyler Morning Telegraph, U.S. News & World Report, USA Today, Vice, Visão, Volkskrant, Vox, VoxEU, Wall Street Journal, Washington Examiner, Washington Post, Washington Times, Weekly Standard, Wisconsin Gazette, Worcester Telegram & Gazette, World Net Daily, Yahoo News, Yahoo Sports, Yomiuri Shimbun, Die Zeit, etc.

Select Ad Hominem Attacks on Colleagues

“[I just snuck into my colleague Mike Strain’s office](#),” *AEIdeas*, February 19, 2015.

“[Canto by Ó Cearnaigh](#),” *AEIdeas*, September 8, 2014.

“[Cantos on the Fiscal Cliff](#),” *AEIdeas*, January 22, 2013.

Languages

Fluent	Dutch, English, Spanish
Reading	Catalan, French, Galician, German, Latin, Portuguese

Recent Professional Service and Miscellanea

2024-Present	Chair of the Chapter Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
2024-Present	Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences Working Group on Community Partnership Visas
2024-Present	Secretary, Westminster Neighborhood Association
2023-Present	Member of the Executive Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
2023-Present	Director, Netherland-America Foundation

2023-Present Affiliate, Center on Opportunity and Social Mobility at the American Enterprise Institute
 2021-Present Affiliate, Center for American Political Studies at Harvard University
 2020-Present Content Advisor, Greater Greater Washington
 2016-Present Member of the Ambassadors' Awards Dinner Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
 2016-Present Consultant, expertpowerhouse
 2015-Present Editor, *AEI Economic Perspectives*
 2015-Present Chair of the Washington, D.C. Chapter, Netherland-America Foundation
 2021-2024 Chair of the Advisory Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
 2023 Member of the Program Committee, Annual Congress of the European Economic Association
 2022-2023 Member of the Jury, AI for Global Climate Cooperation
 2019-2023 Member of the Zoning, Planning, and Parks Committee, Washington, D.C. Advisory Neighborhood Commission 1A
 Fall 2020 Certificate of Teaching Excellence, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University
 2019 Member of the Program Committee, APPAM International Conference
 2017 Member of the Program Committee, National Tax Association Annual Conference on Taxation

External Reviewer for AI for Global Climate Cooperation, Center for Global Development, Center for Growth and Opportunity at Utah State University, Laura and John Arnold Foundation, Mercatus Center at George Mason University, National Science Foundation, and Smith Richardson Foundation

Referee for *Acta Oeconomica*, *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, *American Journal of Health Economics*, *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *Applied Economics*, *Asian Economic Journal*, *Athens Journal of Social Sciences*, *Cogent Economics and Finance*, *Cogent Social Sciences*, *Contemporary Economic Policy*, *Economics of Education Review*, *Environmental and Resource Economics*, *European Economic Review*, *European Journal of Political Economy*, *Inquiry: The Journal of Health Care Organization, Provision, and Financing*, *International Journal of Economic Sciences and Applied Research*, *International Review of Economics and Finance*, *International Tax and Public Finance*, *Journal of Health Economics*, *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management*, *Journal of Public Economics*, *Journal of Regional Science*, *Journal of Sports Analytics*, *Journal of Urban Economics*, *Management Science*, *National Tax Journal*, *Oxford Economic Papers*, *Party Politics*, *Public Choice*, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, *Revista de Métodos Cuantitativos para la Economía y la Empresa*, *Social Forces*, *Social Science Journal*, *Social Science & Medicine* and *SSM – Population Health*